4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

occupied Lvov, and advanced on Warsaw through Zamość by the same route which the Cossack hordes of Khmelnytsky had followed nearly three centuries before. But the Russians were checked at the gates of Warsaw (15 August), and their subsequent retreat was almost as rapid as their advance and the preceding Polish advance and retreat had been.

On 12 October an armistice was signed, and in the following year the Peace of Riga was to stabilize conditions on the Russian borderlands for nearly twenty years. Poland retained most of the Ukrainian territory of which she had been in occupation prior to the attack on Kiev—large parts of Volhynia and Polesia as well as about half the area of White Russia. The much disputed Kholm district and all Galicia also remained in Polish hands, although the temporary occupation of these territories had only been authorized by the Paris Conference 'pending the solution of the Russian Question'. As a result of the activities of the tenacious Petlyura and the visionary politicians of the 'Directoria' the Poles received, therefore, about 150,000 square kilometres of Ukrainian territory and about 5,000,000 Ukrainian-speaking subjects.

Simon Petlyura, like so many of the picturesque figures of the Russian Revolution, retired to Paris where, some years later, he was killed by a revolver shot in the Boulevard St Michel. The shot was fired by a young Jew named Schwartzbrod, who stated at his trial that he was taking vengeance on Petlyura for the pogroms committed by the 'Petlyurians'. (8, 9, 10)

§6. THE SOVIETS AND THE GROWTH OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

'The Ukrainian Soviet Republic' had been declared on 18 December 1918 in a proclamation of 'the Military and Revolutionary Committee of the Red Southern Army' signed by Stalin and Rakovski; the proclamation conferred all authority in 'the liberated territory' on 'the Ukrainian workers and the Ukrainian peasants'. On 3 January 1919, the day on which the Red Army entered Kharkov, then still occupied by part of the 1st German Army Corps, a proclamation of 'the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee' announced that all authority in the Ukraine was vested in this Committee which had 'the confidence of the working and peasant masses'. This document was signed by the President of the Committee, Manuilsky, and by the following members: Rakovski, Grinko, Zatonsky and Skrypnik. Rakovski was a professional revolutionary, a Bulgarian or Roumanian Jew by origin,

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

642 669 635 who had always lived in the *Quartier Latin* in Paris; Zatonsky and Skrypnik were the first Ukrainian politicians to go over to the Bolsheviks.

This same Committee, on 14 February, two or three weeks after the occupation of Kiev, announced the federation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic with 'the All-Russian Republic of Workers and Peasants'. Subsequently, on 9 March, 'according to the Revolutionary order' 'the First Ukrainian Congress of Soldiers', Peasants' and Workers' Delegates' was called together. This body received for approval 'the Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic'. Seven months had not elapsed before nine-tenths of the territory of this first Ukrainian Soviet Republic had fallen into the hands of the Volunteer Army.

In spite of the ephemeral character of the first Ukrainian Soviet Republic it is worth considering the theoretical basis on which this state was founded, since its structure illustrates Lenin's conceptions as to the treatment of nationalities within the Communist State.

656 563 Following the November *coup d'état* two documents were published in Russia which had an 'ideological' importance in relation to the formation of national republics. The first was a 'Declaration of the Rights and Privileges of the Nations Forming Part of Russia'; it concluded as follows:

'According to the Will of the Congress of Soviets, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to adopt as a foundation for its activities in the question of nationalities the following principles:

(1) The equality and sovereign rights of all the nationalities of Russia;

(2) The right of self-determination of all these nationalities, including the right to form independent states;

(3) The abolition of all national and religious privileges and limitations;

(4) The free development of national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.'

The document bears the signature of Dzhugashvili-Stalin, Commissar for Nationalities, and of Ulianov-Lenin, President of the Council of People's Commissars.

The second document is a 'Declaration of the Rights of Oppressed Nationalities', dated 24 January 1918 and approved by the 3rd Congress of All-Russian Soviets. The setting up by this Congress of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) was based on the following principles: 'Russia is proclaimed the Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. The Soviet Republic is constituted on the basis of a free union of free

131 constituent autonomous republic, the Moldavian A.S.S.R.[1] On November 1, [728] 1939, 88,000 square kilometres were added when Western Ukraine, which in 1920 had been annexed by Poland, was re-joined to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

131 728 Another 21,300 square kilometres were added in June 1940 when Bessarabia (annexed by Rumania in 1918) and Northern Bukovina (another part of Rumania) also were incorporated, making the Ukraine's total area then about 579,000 square kilometres. However, a small decrease occurred in August 1940 when the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. granted the petition of the Moldavian people in Bessarabia to join with a part of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic to form the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war the area of the Ukraine was 575,000 square kilometres (2½ per cent. of the territory of the Soviet Union); and the population was over 40 millions. After the addition of the Transcarpathian region in June 1945, the Ukraine's total area was 587,700 square kilometres; it is approximately the same today. The following table summarizes the changes in the area and population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from 1939 to June 1941.

● 635 642 The U.S.S.R. is composed of sixteen Union Soviet Socialist Republics. Within this framework there exist a number of autonomous provinces, national regions and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. Before August 1940 the Ukrainian S.S.R. included one autonomous republic, the Moldavian A.S.S.R. which was subsequently given full status and became the sixteenth Union Republic. According to Professor Trainin, the Soviet authority on legal questions, the main distinction between autonomous and union republics is that the latter are guaranteed the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. - a right which is not incorporated in the constitutions of the autonomous republics. Another difference regarding status is that whereas in the Soviet of Nationalities (one of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.) every Union republic is represented by 25 deputies, the autonomous republic is represented by only 11.

Moldavia

635 648 The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was created on August 2, 1940 by the decree of the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. This Republic consists of a part of the former Moldavian Autonomous S.S. Republic and of a section of Bessarabia incorporated into the Soviet Union. [131 161] The creation of this new Union Republic decreased the Ukrainian S.S.R. by 3,900 square kilometres and a population of 310,000 persons[1].

The Transcarpathian Ukraine[2]

928 In June 1945 an agreement was signed in Moscow between the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic that the Transcarpathian Ukraine "...which on the basis of a pact of September 10, 1919, concluded at St.Germain-en-Laye, entered the Czechoslovak Republic with the rank of an Autonomous Republic, will, according to the wish manifested by the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine and on the basis of the friendly agreement of both high contracting parties, unite with its longstanding motherland, the Ukraine, and is included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The frontier between Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine, existing since September 29, 1938, will, with modifications described, become the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic..."

Article II of the protocol appended to the Pact said that:

"Persons of Ukrainian and Russian nationality living in Czechoslovak territory have the right to opt for Soviet citizenship until January 1, 1946... Czech and Slovak nationals residing or having their permanent domicile in the territory of the Carpatho-Ukraine have the right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality during the time until January 1, 1946".[3]

131 311 On January 1, 1935, the area of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 12,617 square kilometres. In 1937 about half of this was covered by forests and woods; roughly 239,000 hectares were arable, and about 328,000 hectares were devoted to vineyards, market gardens, and permanent meadows and pastures.

161 As at December 1, 1930, the population of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 725,357, an increase of nearly 121,000 over February 1921.[4]

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1 Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S.Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

2 Called by the Czechs, Sub-Carpathian Rus, or Carpatho-Ukraine.

3 New York Times quoted by Voices of History (1945-46), Gramercy Publishing Company, New York.

4 Statistical Handbook of Czechoslovak Republic, London.